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605 If you hide from your cousin, then anything she has, whether it is money or
834 property, or anything else, she will give to you. You can't refuse a request from a person who hides from you. And it's the same for you if she needs anything.

[183] Since cousin avoidance is voluntary, where it will lead to complications or where the individuals concerned are likely to be thrown together constantly, it is seldom begun.

582 If marriage between cousins is prohibited, is it not difficult, in
602 view of the small population, for a young person to find a suit-
769 able mate? Sometimes this problem does arise, and young men have been known to journey far from their homes for the purpose of making contacts which could lead to marriage. That the issue does not become more serious is due to two factors: the mobility and extensive range of these people and their anxiety to eliminate all mention and memory of the dead. Because of the first factor, families, except for nuclear groups of very close kin, tend to move apart and lose contact with each other. And because the names and antecedents of the departed are seldom mentioned, connections between remoter kin are soon forgotten when the families are separated.

605 When circumstances warrant, the cousin avoidance may be
834 terminated and the more ordinary manner of behavior toward a
182 relative of this degree resumed. The details of the procedure are the same as those governing the abrogation of affinal avoidance.[15]

Grandparent-grandchild relationships.—The wish for long life
886 and old age is constantly expressed in prayer and ceremonial
481 song. The staff on which the old person leans has become a sym-
782 bol of this concept. As one commentator wryly observed: "They pray for the old age staff. They say, 'Let me be old, let me have the old age stick.' If you have the old age stick that means you have reached a long life. But when they get it, they don't like

•888 it."
887 It is considered a good omen if an old person blesses a child or
[787] performs a ceremony over him, for even as this individual's pow-
[852] er and ceremony have preserved him to a ripe age, they may pro-
[276] tect the child for a generous time span. The same notion is present in the preparation of the first cigarette. "A person's first

[15] See pp. 174–75.

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cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

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Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

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The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

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The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

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reciprocals, one term, in its primary sense, stands for mother's mother and also, when a woman is speaking, for daughter's child; another indicates father's mother and likewise, when a woman is speaking, son's child, etc. 601 603

It is a feature of this kinship system that siblings and cousins of the grandparent are addressed by the same term as the grandparent, regardless of sex. For example, the term for mother's mother also designates her sisters, brothers, and cousins. Reciprocally, the brothers or sisters of a woman will address this same term to their sister's daughter's child, male or female.

For the great-grandparent–great-grandchild relationship the terms of the grandparent-grandchild set are utilized. There is no strong feeling concerning the functions of the great-grandparents and no specialization of terminology. If they are active enough to participate in social, economic, and ceremonial matters, they are treated much as are grandparents. It is the duty of children to support old people who are so far past their prime, and members of the great-grandparent generation receive the extra consideration to which their extreme age entitles them. 603 [601] [888]

CHILDHOOD'S END

Childhood is, strictly speaking, a period of preparation for adult standards. The view of the world is not softened for the young beholder. The child and the adult often listen together to accounts of the rigors of the hunt, of the hardships and glories of war, and of the cruelties of the enemy. "As soon as I was old enough to know," said one informant, "I was told who were our enemies." Another man prefaced an exceptionally vivid description of a war dance with the remark, "When I was just old enough to understand and remember it, I saw them go through this performance." 867 [858] [868]

The child is early introduced to the goals and values of the society. An old man mentioned hunting as one of the first experiences he could recall. He was with older children who were shooting birds with slings, and he followed them around to see what they were doing. [868] [857]

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751 757 515 [291] [824] [413] time. About four to six men usually go in at once. They wear just a loincloth. Before they go in, pounded piñon needles or pounded juniper may be rubbed on their bodies by the man in charge. All the men wear sage tied around their heads while they are in there. And they take a drink in which four pieces of mesquite bean have been put. Each man has to bring a stick to scratch with. He cannot scratch his body with his fingers.

Four big rocks are heated outside and then brought to the pit inside with a forked stick. Water is brought. The men are sitting in a circle but leave an open space to the east. Then the water is sprinkled on the hot rocks. Anyone who is appointed can sprinkle water on. One man sits outside and operates the door cover so that the heat does not escape. The man in charge is always in there. He [463] [782] [533] prays in there and leads the singing. Special songs are sung, songs that mention the sweat bath, the earth, and the sky. Usually four songs are sung over and over. All who are inside sing.

The men try to stay in there about an hour. Then they come out and bathe. Some young fellows run a race, too, while they are still warm from the sweat [481] [826] bath, to enable them to become good runners and to make them long winded. That is their belief.

Sometimes the men go in four times during the day. But some can't stand it. K. went in once. The heat was so great that he didn't go in a second time. Sometimes they just go in once and it's over. They rub themselves well with their hands when they come out. Sweat-bathing like this keeps men in good physical condition. It isn't done right away again. They would wait at least fifteen days [888] before doing it again. There is no use for very old people to go into the sweat house. Their lives are spent.

278 *Herbalism.*—Plants are used in the majority of cases, whether the manner of combating the illness be ceremonial or purely secular. "There are all kinds of roots and weeds and herbs, something for everything; nothing was left out." Some plants are considered so "strong" and so "ceremonial" that only those who have supernatural sanction and directions for their use dare apply them. Other plants, usually administered in nonritual contexts, appear in ceremonies if the supernatural power so orders.

751 824 Incensing with the smoke of burning juniper and piñon boughs is mentioned repeatedly:

My people take piñon and juniper, put the boughs together, and burn them. They do it inside the home and keep the members of the family there until they can't stand it any longer. This burning makes a lot of smoke, and they stay there until the tears come from their eyes. Then they won't catch a disease that is around. They do this if there is a great deal of disease around.

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622 554 But most often nothing as formal as this takes place. The retirement of the leader is gradual. His son or some prominent younger man who works closely with him and has his confidence takes charge in an increasing number of situations where physical vigor is essential. The old man, on the other hand, devotes a greater amount of attention to affairs of the camp. It is only a matter of time before the former leader is satisfied to act as the honored patriarch and as "he who commands for the home," leaving to his successor the responsibility for major decisions and military action. Therefore the length of the leader's period of service can be said to depend to a large degree upon his health and the amount of assistance he himself requires. Many leaders hold their following unchallenged until their death because they remain clear of mind and commanding in manner despite advancing years. The hereditary rights of a leader are honored only as long as he can fulfil the promise of his birth:

> If the group is dissatisfied with their leader, if they are tired of him and don't like him, they may just move away and camp elsewhere and recognize another leader. Then the former leader is left alone with his family. If a leader sees that such a thing is going to happen, he can, of course, give up his rights of leadership and remain with the group as an ordinary man.

Leadership, then, is a process in which birth and wealth have their place, but in which ability and personal magnetism are always the leavening factors.

888 [554] Whatever a man's rank in society, as long as he is not senile, advancing years entitle him to increased deference. "A person is respected more in home life when he reaches his prime." This attitude is indicated in countless small details of everyday life. The older person, for instance, is permitted to open the conversation when two individuals meet. One young woman is criticized [576] because she is "too forward with older people" and frequently takes the initiative in greetings. When friends embrace, the older acts first.

888 789 Whatever aged men and women do for the young is especially appreciated; the hope is that the actions of the elders may operate as a prayer to secure comparable long life for the child:

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If a very old woman, though she is no relative to me or my wife, comes in here, she can pick up my child and call it, "my daughter's child." If there are more than the one around, she can call them by the term that White Painted Woman used to Child of the Water. This has been handed down from the beginning. I've seen many old women who have a kind heart for children do this. Old men can do it too. It's a religious way, sort of a blessing. 888 789

Also, certain of the prohibitions are less strictly applied to the aged. It will be recalled that very old people may joke in a mildly risqué manner with affinal relatives whom they had to treat much more circumspectly when they were young. 888 602

And yet, the consolations of age notwithstanding, this way of life is such a strenuous one that the episodes of action and daring of youth and middle age are the treasured moments in a career. The individual grows old reluctantly, with his eyes on the past, often with sad songs that recall his lost youth: 886 533

Many years ago I saw an old man sitting by the fire working. He sang this song then, and, as he sang it, the tears rolled down his cheeks. He was thinking back to the good times he had when he was a young man. It's really an old man's song. They just sit there in a pitiful way and sing it slowly. I can't sing it like that.

When I was young, I took no heed;
Old, old I have become!
Because I knew that age would come
To me, I took no heed.

But to those who live still longer there comes a time when life becomes a burden, when debility hems them in, and "they are not happy because they can't get around." Then, at last, the aged person must confess: 886

Well, I've seen my best days. I am old. I am a nuisance to the group, and if anything happens to me it's all right. When I was young, I saw happy days and I had a good time. Now I'll never see those days again. I'm old and useless and not fit for anything, not even to live.